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No. 26

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# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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VOL. IX

NEW YORK, MAY 6, 1916

No. 26

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of New England was held at Brown University, on Friday and Saturday, April 7-8. The attendance was good, the programme excellent and well balanced, and much interest was manifested in the papers. As Delegate from The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, by appointment of the Executive Committee, I was present at all the sessions on Friday. Duties in New York obliged me to return by the last train Friday night. For what is said below about the papers presented on Saturday and the business transacted then, I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor George E. Howes, who, from the beginning to the present day, has been Secretary-Treasurer of the Association.

In his address of welcome, Dr. Otis E. Randall, Dean of Brown University, a distinguished scientist and engineer, spoke warmly of the value of the Classics, particularly to the engineer. Dr. A. E. Phoutrides, of Harvard University, read an interesting paper on Hesiodic Reminiscences in the *Ascræan* of Kostas Palamas, an important Greek contemporary poet and man of letters. A most instructive paper was that by Professor Julia H. Caverno, of Smith College, entitled *The Messenger in Greek Tragedy*. Among the important points made was the demonstration that, through the verbal descriptions by messengers of certain sorts of scenes (e. g. the account in the *Medea* of Euripides of the deaths of Creusa, wife of Jason, and Creon, her father, wrought by the poisoned robe), the Greek tragic poet gained effects not only deeper and more lasting, but also far less gruesome than could have been gained through the presentation of such scenes actually before the spectators. Instances were given of modern performances, in this country, in which the attempt to present certain sorts of things, e. g. the experiences of a madman, made anything but the impression which the actor and stage director had aimed to produce. Again, through the fine speeches of the messenger, so full of charm and power in themselves, the poets were able to bring before the minds of the spectators scenes utterly beyond the resources of any theater, ancient or modern, to represent physically on the stage. It is to be hoped that this paper will soon be published in full. Though Professor Caverno confined her attention to Greek tragedy, her paper has importance also for the student of Roman comedy. Professor Haven D. Brackett, of Clark College, in a

paper entitled *An Alleged Defect in the Antigone* of Sophocles, discussed exhaustively and refuted convincingly the view held by Jebb and other excellent critics that Sophocles erred in making Creon, after Tiresias had brought him to his knees, go first to bury Polynices, instead of proceeding first to release Antigone from imprisonment in the tomb. On religious and psychological grounds both, Professor Haven showed, Sophocles was entirely right.

In the afternoon there were papers as follows: Religious Burlesque in Aristophanes and Elsewhere, by Professor J. W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University (this paper, unfortunately, I did not hear); The Transvaluation of Greek and Latin, Professor Francis G. Allinson, Brown University; References to Painting in Plautus and Terence, Professor Charles Knapp, Columbia University. Professor Knapp also brought greetings from The Classical Association of the Atlantic States. Professor Allinson, using in part as his text certain translations in the Loeb Classical Library, argued that translators too often err by substituting expressions (e. g., in translations of comedy, expletives, oaths, etc.) and ideas that are distinctly modern, and foreign entirely to ancient modes of thought. As a result, the atmosphere of the translation, so called, is very different from that of the original. Dr. D. O. S. Lowell, Headmaster of the Roxbury Latin School, spoke well in Memoriam, William Coe Collar.

At the dinner on Friday evening, given by Brown University to the members of the Association, over 80 persons were present. President W. H. Faunce, of Brown University, and the Rev. G. Glenn Atkins, of Providence, discussed the need and the value of the Classics in this day, and uttered friendly warnings concerning the spirit and the manner in which teachers of the Classics should discharge their task and pursue their high calling. In particular, they urged, we must make it plain to boy and to girl wherein the study of the Classics touches life as life must be lived to-day, and must show clearly to what the study of the Classics leads.

On Saturday Mr. Albert S. Perkins, of the Dorchester High School, set forth before the Association, for the second time, the valuable results gained through the experiments made in the Dorchester High School with respect to the value of Latin in the Commercial High School course. Mr. Perkins reported that the experiments, not only in this school, but in others throughout

the country, had been highly successful. Some of the characteristics of the work have been set forth by Mr. Perkins in articles in *The Classical Journal*.

Professor Nelson G. McCrea, of Columbia University, gave another of his admirable reports on The Examinations in Latin of the College Examination Board. This report is to appear in full in the May issue, 1916, of *The Classical Journal*; it should be compared with the report published in the same periodical, by Professor McCrea, in May, 1915.

Dr. Alfred R. Wightman, of the Phillips Exeter Academy, discussed The Transitive Use of the Genitive Gerund and its Parallel Construction in the Gerundive. In a paper published in *The Classical Journal* 5.214-219, Mr. B. M. Allen, of the Phillips Academy, Andover, had maintained that, whereas the genitive of the singular of the gerundive was used with considerable freedom, the genitive of the plural gerundive was found infrequently; he felt that, perhaps, the Romans objected to the repetition of the endings *-orum* and *-arum* in the latter construction. Dr. Wightman, on the basis of a reinvestigation of the facts, held that Mr. Allen's statements were wrong.

On Saturday afternoon Professor Frank C. Babbitt, of Trinity College, read a paper entitled T. R. Cyrus, which showed a rare appreciation of Xenophon, as well as of the characteristics of recent political life in this country, and displayed also a keen sense of humor. Professor Karl P. Harrington, of Wesleyan University, in a paper entitled Little Journeys from Rome, and illustrated largely by views taken by himself, guided his audience through the interesting towns and cities of ancient Italy, the Alban Hills, the Sabine Hills, etc.

The officers elected were: President, Professor Harry DeForest Smith, Amherst College; Vice-President, Mr. Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor George E. Howes, Williams College; Members of the Executive Committee, to serve two years, Professor Irene Nye, Connecticut College for Women, and Mr. Walter V. McDuffie, Springfield High School. The Association adopted resolutions characterizing as a marked step in advance the use of the comprehensive entrance examination; expressing its best wishes for success to Professor Charles Upson Clark, one of the founders of the Association, and one of its Presidents, who goes this summer from Yale University to Rome, to be Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Rome, now part of The American Academy in Rome; and tendering thanks to The Classical Association of the Atlantic States for its courtesy in sending a delegate to represent it.

It may be noted in conclusion that The Classical Association of New England publishes annually a bulletin, in which an account is given of the annual meeting. In this bulletin brief abstracts of the papers appear.

C. K.

### ADVERTISING AMONG THE ROMANS<sup>1</sup>

Before beginning the discussion of the subject of advertising among the Romans, let us review briefly the condition of Roman trade. Business was a much less important factor in Roman life than it is with us. The senators were debarred by custom and law from engaging in trade at all. The theory was that their votes should be kept free from any influence that financial interest might exert. This meant that a senator had to have an independent income, and the only perfectly respectable source of this was agriculture. So the feeling came to exist that agriculture was the only occupation worthy of a free and liberal position<sup>2</sup>. Cicero says that most or all other sources of income are vulgar or ungentle, some of them, like usury, because of the questionable methods employed, others, like shopkeeping on a small scale, because they demanded close association with the multitude. Business on a larger scale was not so bad<sup>3</sup>. Now the senator-farmer raised everything he needed on his own estates, and, in theory, did not need to buy anything outside. This superiority to business was communicated to the middle-class Romans, who despised business as a means of livelihood. The knights were not under the same restrictions as the senators, but their available means led them to engage in trade on a larger scale, especially in importing and wholesaling lines. Their interests were more likely to be directed toward tax-collecting, financing revolutions, and other semi-political occupations, than to actual business. We may be sure, however, that many knights, and many senators, too, were partners in retail establishments. The conduct of trade was left largely in the hands of slaves and freedmen, many of them foreigners. Some of them merely managed stores belonging to their owners or patrons; many more were themselves the owners. Usually they would be men of small means, who could not afford to advertise extensively, even if they had thought of so doing. We should, then, not be surprised that the Romans made so little progress in this direction, but rather that they made so much. Publicity of some sort is of course universal where there is anything to be bought or sold. It is my purpose now to indicate some of the methods in use among the Romans for securing such publicity.

I have adopted the following rough classification of advertising methods: (1) advertising in newspapers and other periodicals. I include not only matter obviously advertising, such as 'display' and 'classified', but also reading notices, etc. With regard to personals I feel some hesitation. (2) circulars, form-letters, etc., distributed to individuals; (3) signs and other designating marks for hotels, shops, and other places of

<sup>1</sup>This paper was read originally before the Study Circle of the Seattle Ad Club, and was published in the magazine known as *Advertising and Selling*, in March, 1913.

<sup>2</sup>Cato, R. R. 1.

<sup>3</sup>De Officiis 1.150.



business; (4) placards, posters, etc., in other words, billboard advertising<sup>1</sup>.

(1) To one who is interested in showing the resemblances between ancient and modern society, this is perhaps an unpromising field. One of the most striking differences is in the almost complete lack of the newspaper and the total lack of the magazine. The subject of the distribution of news is so closely allied to our immediate topic that I shall discuss it briefly, for the light it throws on advertising methods. Down to the year 59 B. C. there was nothing resembling the newspaper in Rome. It was, however, a matter of vital importance for the Roman to know what was going on abroad. His foreign relations were so close, and at the same time so far-reaching that it was necessary for him to keep in touch with other nations. Official dispatches from military and diplomatic representatives gave him some of this information. It was equally vital for him to know what was going on at Rome, when he for any reason was away from the City. The Roman was as much attached to his city as a Parisian to Paris or a New Yorker to New York. To be away from it was a calamity. To be separated from the busy and exciting life of Rome, its absorbing politics, its games, its scandals, was an evil which every Roman avoided as far as possible. But there had to be generals and officers and soldiers with the armies, and governors and clerks and taxcollectors, and each man arranged as best he could to have news sent to him by personal correspondence. These letters might be handed on from one person to another, or even posted up in some public place for the information of any one interested<sup>2</sup>. When Cicero was governor of Cilicia in 51 B. C. he arranged with his friend M. Caelius Rufus to send him reports, 'not only of what is happening, but of what is going to happen'. Now Caelius was one of the keenest of politicians, and we have, then, in what he wrote to Cicero comments by a most competent observer on the political situation at Rome, mingled with more or less perfunctory remarks on social and personal matters<sup>3</sup>. Yet even Caelius admits that he is a poor correspondent, and Cicero must have often become impatient with waiting to hear whether he had to stay longer in his hateful province, or whether Caesar would be allowed to run for the consulship without coming to Rome. Most people must have been even less fortunate, but no effort was made for a long time to provide for them, useful and probably profitable though it would have been<sup>4</sup>. In the course of time a class came into existence, composed mainly of Greeks<sup>5</sup>, whom the Romans called by the

rather uncomplimentary name of *operarii*, but whom I prefer to call 'reporters' or, better, 'correspondents'<sup>6</sup>. It was the business of these men to gather and distribute news. Even Caelius used their budgets to give Cicero the mere news, and his letters afford, then, editorial comment, so to speak, based on Caelius's inside information. Caelius, like most Romans, was scornful of these men and their work. 'You can skip', he writes, 'the divorces, the hissings at the theater, and the rest of the trash'<sup>7</sup>.

There were other casual and miscellaneous methods of carrying news that need not detain us now. One of the most interesting is that described in Caesar (B. G. 7.3.2), but it is not likely that it was used for advertising. The visits of travellers were doubtless of importance in this way. Now it is obvious that there is no sure provision for advertising in letters or in the *compilationes* of the *operarii*, yet there is nothing certainly exclusive of it. It may well be doubted whether there was anything more than personal advertising. Announcements of new books could be easily carried in this way, and we can judge of the results of such publicity by the fact that works of popular Roman authors were in demand and on sale all over the world<sup>8</sup>. Pliny's anecdote of the stranger visiting at Rome may be quoted in confirmation. The stranger chanced to ask his neighbor at the games his name. 'You know me', was the reply, 'from my books'. 'Then', answered the other, 'you must be either Tacitus or Pliny'. Another letter of Pliny<sup>9</sup> is a testimonial to a distinguished rhetorician. It was probably by such informal means that enthusiasm was stirred up for poets<sup>10</sup>.

For many Romans the innovation of the year 59 B. C. must have been a blessing. In that year Caesar was consul, and devoted himself to the task of weakening the Senate. One of the privileges of that body had been meeting in executive session. Only so much of their deliberations was made public as suited the senators. Caesar, however, arranged that reports of their proceedings should be made public. These reports were called the *acta diurna*, and constitute the original newspaper. For present purposes it is not necessary to distinguish the various kinds of *acta*. At first they must have included only brief summaries of the meetings. Later, some changes occurred. There seems to have been something resembling the congressional leave to print. At any rate, sometimes speeches were transcribed, with even the interruptions noted. The most famous example is the speech of the Emperor Claudius on admitting Gauls to the Senate, of which we have another version in Tacitus<sup>11</sup>. With the fall of the Republic the sessions of the Senate ceased to have so much importance, and the *acta* took on more of the look of the society and local columns of our papers.

<sup>1</sup>The advertisement of Ascylos in Petronius 97.1 does not fit in this scheme. He offered a reward for Giton through a crier and a public slave. The *recitatio*, the favorite method of advertising a new literary work, is also excluded, but it is too familiar to need comment.

<sup>2</sup>Cicero, Ad Att. 8.9.2, and elsewhere; cf. Riepl, *Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums*, 372.

<sup>3</sup>His letters are gathered together in Book 8 of the *Ad Familiares*.

<sup>4</sup>Cornificius had an arrangement like Cicero's (Cicero, Ad Fam. 12.22.1; 12.28.3). The use of *acta* in these passages shows that letters in the everyday sense of the term are not meant. Compare in general Riepl, 380 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Compare the name Chrestos in Cicero, Fam. 2.8.1, a passage which shows the miscellaneous character of their *compilationes*.

<sup>6</sup>Riepl, 384, well calls them 'penny-a-liners'.

<sup>7</sup>Ad Fam. 8.11.4. <sup>8</sup>Gellius 9.4.1 (Brundisium); Pliny, Epp. 9.11 (Lugdun. um); Martial 7.88 (Vienna in Gaul), 11.3 (Britain); etc.

<sup>9</sup>Cicero, Arch. 4.

<sup>10</sup>Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I. § 212; Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 7.304; Tacitus, Ann. 11.24.

Thus we find recorded in the *acta* the visit to the Emperor of a certain C. Crispinius Hilarus with sixty-one descendants in the direct line; imperial decrees; the story of a faithful dog; various prodigies; divorces; benefactions; suicides; acclamations; construction of public buildings, etc.<sup>16</sup>. Doubtless there might be included announcements of games, readings of poets, etc., and this would correspond to the intrusion of similar matter into the news columns of modern papers. The trivial and frivolous nature of the *acta* roused the scorn of the serious-minded and dignified<sup>18</sup>, and also led the satirist Petronius to parody it in his brilliant novel<sup>17</sup>. The wealthy freedman Trimalchio, who is the host at the dinner, already owns, the novel declares, all Italy from Naples to the Sicilian strait, and is planning to add Sicily to his holdings, that he may travel from Italy to Africa without leaving his own possessions. A steward appears and reads the *acta* of the enormous domain:

July 26, on Trimalchio's farm at Cumae, thirty boys and forty girls were born; five hundred thousand measures of grain were put in the barn; five hundred oxen were broken. On the same day: Mithridates the slave was crucified because he blasphemed the genius of our master Gaius. On the same day: one hundred thousand sesterces were put in the bank because they could not be loaned out on interest. On the same day: a fire broke out in the garden at Pompeii, starting in the house of the steward Nasta . . . 'Wait a moment', interrupted Trimalchio, 'when was a garden at Pompeii purchased for me?' 'Only last year', the steward apologetically replied, 'and so it hasn't got into the accounts yet'. Trimalchio proclaimed, 'After this if any property is bought for me, and I don't know about it in six months, I forbid it to be entered in the accounts at all'.

With this royal command the reading of the *acta* was resumed.

There is plenty of evidence that this attitude toward the *acta* was not shared by the provincials. The arrival of the *acta* in a provincial town must have been the signal for the assemblage of a deeply interested crowd.

Despite the elasticity of the *acta*, there is no indication of advertising, except of the kind I have mentioned above. The *operarii* used them freely, and they circulated widely, but no Roman merchant, so far as we know, ever saw the possibility of extending his trade by announcements in these copies, and, if he had, the lack of any means of cheap and rapid transportation would have prevented the development of the idea. For such advertising the merchant would have to depend mainly on the visits of travellers to Rome, who doubtless carried back with them new ideas in dress, furniture, etc. We know that Roman fashions spread throughout the Empire with great rapidity, and they must have become known in some way. There was no patent or copyright to prevent the stealing of ideas by other

manufacturers. It must be said, however, that the newspaper played a small part in the spreading of new fashions.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to speak of the nearest approach to a magazine that Rome possessed. Some poets seem to have published volumes at about the same time every year, and these might be regarded as annuals. Among these was Martial<sup>18</sup>. His poems are full of 'reading notices'. We can not always tell whether a proper name in Martial refers to some real person, living or dead, or is a coinage, intended to suggest the character or the occupation of its owner, like those of the modern comic paper. It is hard to say what motives led Martial to mention by name particular persons in this way: no other poet, as far as we know, did the same thing on the same scale. It is a tempting suggestion that Martial had something at stake. He may have been financially interested in the places he mentions, or he may have charged at regular rates.

The relations of Martial to his publishers I shall discuss elsewhere. It is sufficient for the present to say that he mentions by name as his publishers Secundus, Atrectus, Pollius and Trypho, even furnishing information in some cases as to the location of their shops and the prices they charge<sup>19</sup>. Martial is an expert at puffing himself. Even the favor of Domitian was used during the Emperor's lifetime, to be discarded after his death. Before Martial, Horace had taken occasion to mention his publishers, the Sosii Brothers<sup>20</sup>, and, still earlier, Cicero had referred in complimentary terms to the work of his publisher and friend, Atticus<sup>21</sup>.

There are many references in Martial to business men. Cosmus, a perfumer, is mentioned often, as he is by Juvenal<sup>22</sup>. It would be interesting to know whether he paid for his publicity. Other perfumers, perhaps rivals, perhaps partners, of Cosmus, are also named. It is hard to tell whether the doctors, barbers, charioteers, and others, so often mentioned, are real persons or imaginary. Some of them may have been real men, who paid for their 'ads'. Some one who had been praised by Martial pretended to owe him nothing. 'He has imposed on me', says Martial<sup>23</sup>; so it is not likely that Martial overlooked this possible source of income, though he may not have been able to collect always. Dialulus, once a doctor, later an undertaker, but with the same trade after all<sup>24</sup>, the frigid rhetorician Sabineus, 'who would freeze the baths of Nero'<sup>25</sup>, the deliberate barber Eutrapelus<sup>26</sup>, and the unskilful painter Artemidorus<sup>27</sup> are all thought by Gilbert imaginary, or probably so. But Cosmus, the clever silversmith Mentor<sup>28</sup>, and others seem to him real. The poet once invited a friend to dinner, and of course to the bath before it. 'You know how close the baths of Stephanus

<sup>16</sup>Compare Ball, *A Forerunner of the Advertising Agent*. The Classical Journal 2.165 ff.

<sup>17</sup>2.8; 13.3.2.

<sup>18</sup>Epp. 1.30.2.

<sup>19</sup>Ad Att. 13.12.2.

<sup>20</sup>Hübner, *De Senatus Populique Romani Actis*. Boissier, the paper entitled *The Roman Journal*, in his *Tacitus and other Roman Studies*, and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Acta Diurna*, are the sources of these statements, and contain the references to ancient authors. Compare Riepl, 387 ff.

<sup>21</sup>Compare e. g. Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 2.10.4; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.3.21. <sup>22</sup>53.1-8.

<sup>23</sup>E. g. 1.87.2. Petronius frag. XVIII, if genuine, would put Cosmus earlier. The references to Cosmus in Martial and Juvenal are the cause of the doubt about the Petronian passage.

<sup>24</sup>5.36.

<sup>25</sup>1.47; cf. 1.30.

<sup>26</sup>3.25.

<sup>27</sup>7.81.

<sup>28</sup>5.40.

<sup>29</sup>3.41, and elsewhere.

are to where I live', he writes<sup>29</sup>, and elsewhere<sup>30</sup> he speaks of this establishment as being light and pleasant, while the baths of Gryllus are dark and gloomy<sup>31</sup>. One wonders what inducements were offered for this compliment.

(2) There seems to be no trace of circulars, handbills, form-letters, etc. The expense was doubtless prohibitive. It is true that small editions of short works could be put on the market more cheaply and perhaps more rapidly than to-day, but the equipment necessary was not available for the average merchant<sup>32</sup>.

(3, a) Taverns seem to have been indicated by signs, as was true in England and elsewhere later. In Pompeii, there was, for example, the Elephant Inn, so called from its sign, painted on it<sup>33</sup>. Another inn has merely the name of the proprietor, Hyginus Firmus<sup>34</sup>. I may mention here another inscription from Pompeii, which tells the reader, on the authority of L. Sentius Celsus, that a first class inn is located just to the right, down the side street<sup>35</sup>. We can not tell whether Celsus was the innkeeper or an enthusiastic patron. A tavern at Narbo was located a *Gallo Gallinacio*<sup>36</sup>; one at Lyons was called *ad Mercurium et Apollinem*<sup>37</sup>; and at various stations later were to be found *ad sorores IIII* (the three Graces and a human figure completely clad; this may not have been an inn), *ad Mercurios*, *ad draconem*, *ad ficum*, *ad rotam*, etc.<sup>38</sup>. An interesting anticipation of modern Italian practice was the advertisement that the inn was conducted in the 'Roman fashion'<sup>39</sup>. Another had a sign which read 'One word, wayfarer: come in; a copper tablet (tariff) tells you all'<sup>40</sup>. The Vergilian poem *Copa* gives us a picture of an attentive proprietress.

(3, b) Evidence on the means of designation of shops is scanty; in Pompeii signs are strangely rare. A very striking fact in connection with the ancient town is the lack of any distinctly business district and of a distinctive type of business block. In early Rome there were shops on both sides of the Forum, but these were little more than temporary booths for the display of merchandise. In later times these were replaced by others of more permanent construction, with shutters and bars. They were used by perfumers, jewelers, money-changers and the like, while the story of Virginia proves the existence of butchershops there at some time. Later the business district expanded with the growth of the city. The lack of rapid transit facilities made this necessary. For the same reason there was little

incentive to establish department stores, though there may have been some on a small scale. In general, trade was highly specialized. In the fourth century A.D. there were 2,300 oil shops in Rome, and more than 250 bakeries<sup>41</sup>. Doubtless other branches of the retail trade were similarly developed. The principles governing the location of these shops can not now be made out. The destruction of ancient cities makes it impossible. I doubt if the Romans realized that there were such principles. The handbooks usually say that the better streets in Pompeii were without shops, but this generally means, one finds, that in the judgment of the writer the streets without shops are the better. Certainly some of the finest houses in the city had shops. In general, the shops were most numerous around the forum and other places where the people gathered for other purposes. This would be true of the booksellers mentioned by Horace and Martial, and of the shops in the *Vicus Tuscus*. Then, too, certain squares were set aside at Rome for markets—one for oil, one for vegetables, etc. Shops for the sale of foodstuffs were of course to be found all over town<sup>42</sup>. No social stigma seems to have been attached to the subletting of part of a house for business purposes, partly, I suppose, because designating marks were rare. It is doubtful whether some of the reliefs that might have been store signs were really signs or tombstones: the tomb of the baker Eurysaces at Rome, with its representations of baking processes, proves that one's trade might be immortalized with one's name. It is not impossible that some reliefs served both purposes at different times. A milkdealer in Pompeii had on his store front a terra cotta plaque with the figure of a goat; a wine-dealer had as his sign an image of Bacchus, another a picture of two men, one carrying a jug of wine<sup>43</sup>. A baker had a relief of a mill with a mule turning it<sup>44</sup>. A dyer had painted on his entrance wall a man carrying a newly dyed garment on a pole<sup>45</sup>. A dry goods merchant or tailor in Rome showed a picture of his store, with bolts of cloth piled up, and an attentive clerk showing them to a female customer<sup>46</sup>. A butcher had a picture of a hare, two bears and several birds, with a girl bargaining with a clerk<sup>47</sup>. Recent excavations at Pompeii (of which I know only from the account in *The Nation* of December 30, 1915) have revealed a fresco found in a sandalmaker's shop. It represents a show case filled with samples and a customer waiting to be served. Another house, that of a dyer, had a painting of a figure holding up a garment of brilliant hue, evidently a specimen of the dyer's work. From the position of these paintings, it does not seem that either was a sign in the

<sup>29</sup>11.52.4.

<sup>30</sup>14.60.

<sup>31</sup>1.59.3; 2.14.12. Compare 9.19, where Sabellus is represented as praising the baths of Ponticus in hope of a dinner-invitation. Perhaps Martial was satisfied with the same sort of compensation.

<sup>32</sup>Pliny, *Epp.* 4.7; Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 42; Martial 2.1.3; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, in the English translation, 3.36; 4.646.

<sup>33</sup>Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii* 2. 492; C. I. L. 4.806.

<sup>34</sup>Mau-Kelsey, l. c.

<sup>35</sup>Overbeck, *Pompeii*, 475.

<sup>36</sup>Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Aushängeschilder*; Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, 473.

<sup>37</sup>Compare references in Note 36.

<sup>38</sup>Marquardt, l. c.; Friedländer, 1. 292; Baumeister, *Denkmäler, s. v. Aushängeschilder*, and *Abbildung* 215; Jordan in *Archäologische Zeitschrift*, 29.65 ff.; Jahn, *Berichtung der Sächsischen Gesellschaft*, 1861, 374.

<sup>39</sup>Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum*, 2719; Friedländer, l. c.

<sup>40</sup>Friedländer, l. c.; C. I. L. 12.5732.

<sup>41</sup>Davis, *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, 112; Friedländer, 1.147, citing Preller, *Regionen der Stadt Rom*, 30.

<sup>42</sup>Shops were so numerous and blocked the streets so completely that they were restrained by Domitian, 92 A.D. Martial (7.61.10) says, *Nunc Roma est: nuper magna taberna fuit*.

<sup>43</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 370.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>45</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 385.

<sup>46</sup>Friedländer, 1.149, citing Jordan, *Regionen der Stadt Rom*. Herbermann, *Business Life in Ancient Rome*, 26, gives the merchant's name as P. Fannius Apollonophanes.

<sup>47</sup>Friedländer, l. c.



usual sense, designed to attract trade. It might have interested patrons after they had entered the shop. A relief showing five hams may be another butcher's sign<sup>48</sup>. A shop near the Forum Romanum displayed a Cimbrian shield<sup>49</sup>. More like our signs was the inscription on a house in Pompeii 'Aemilius Celer lives here'<sup>50</sup>. Celer was a signpainter whom we shall meet later. The venison dealer who used a verse of Vergil in his sign doubtless reaped great rewards for his ingenuity<sup>51</sup>. It seems that many shops were content to let the lusty voices of their clerks proclaim the character and the virtues of their wares. Itinerant peddlers added to the din, as they do in an Italian town to-day. Many trades, if I may use so dignified a term, had their own characteristic cries<sup>52</sup>. Trade was to a certain extent localized in Rome; so, perhaps, signs were less necessary than they would be to-day in a city of the same size, and the only designations necessary were approximate addresses, like *sagarius post uedem Castoris* or *aurifex de via sacra*<sup>53</sup>. There seems to be nothing in the line of legislation or police supervision of signs overhanging the sidewalks; probably there was no need of any such restrictions.

(3, c) Factories seem to have had few distinguishing marks. Probably manufacturing was carried on mainly in the household, and so far as possible without special machinery. Bakeries, dyeing and cleaning establishments, and the like, were usually in connection with a retail store, and so come under the preceding class. Industries did tend to collect in certain parts of town; one district in Rome was known as the 'scythemakers' street'<sup>54</sup>. There is no indication of any sign to suggest that they were especially numerous there, but for some reason it was so well-known that they did occupy that section that Cicero could use the term as an address, and, in general, such means of locating houses or other buildings were the only ones available.

(4) I come now to the discussion of the type that is best represented, the billboard advertising. My evidence is practically all from Pompeii. More than six thousand inscriptions have so far been discovered there, and the number increases with every excavation. These are of many kinds—alphabets scratched by passing schoolboys, quotations and original verses, names of visitors to public places, laundry lists, records of the birth of animals, notices of theatrical performances and gladiatorial games, 'for rent' signs, election posters, lost, strayed and stolen advertisements, etc. It is no wonder that some one wrote, *Admiror, o paries, te non cecidisse ruinis qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas*<sup>55</sup>. This has been taken to be a protest against billboards, but is more probably a parallel to the modern verse about fools' names. We may compare the follow-

ing naïve statement, written by a visitor to the Palatine Hill, beneath a long list of other inscriptions, 'Many men wrote many things here: I alone wrote nothing'<sup>56</sup>.

A certain citizen of Pompeii was so fond of the public life of his town that he decorated his house with scenes from the forum. One picture shows a group of men reading notices affixed to the bases of equestrian statues<sup>57</sup>. This shows us one place where placards were displayed. Adjoining the forum was a building given to the city by a priestess named Eumachia; it was used probably for a cloth market. Two sides of this building were finished in white plaster and divided into compartments. When the building was uncovered in 1821, many notices were found painted in red in these compartments. They included 'for rent' signs, theatrical advertisements, lost and found notices, etc., but the paint has now practically disappeared<sup>58</sup>. The basilica, the baths, the theaters, the amphitheater were favorite places for the display of notices. They were usually painted in large red or black letters so that they could be easily read. Sometimes two layers have been found, one on the original surface, and another on a coat of stucco applied over the first. Apparently there were billposting companies: Aemilius Celer signed some of his work<sup>59</sup>. On an election poster we read 'Infantio, Florus, Fructus and Sabinus painted this notice here and everywhere'<sup>60</sup>. Even the whitewasher who prepared the space has in one case signed his name. The owner of a building could not, it would seem, protect himself against the billposter. By painting two snakes on the wall<sup>61</sup>, he could warn away all desecrators, but this device was not always successful. Tombs offered tempting opportunities. On one near Rome we read 'Bill-poster, I beg you, pass this monument by . . . . If any candidate's name is ever painted on it, may he suffer defeat and never get an office'<sup>62</sup>.

A single 'for rent' sign will serve as an example: *Insula Arriana Polliana Cn. Allei Nigidi Mai locantur ex K(alendis) Iulis primis tabernae cum pergulis suis et cenacula equestria et domus. Conductor convenite Primum Cn. Allei Nigidi Mai ser(vum)*<sup>63</sup>. Equestria is taken to mean 'fit for a knight'—in other words, good enough for the best people. This particular inscription doubtless referred to a building well-known at the time, and was not necessarily on the building itself. It was found in a street leading to the forum. Pliny's story of the haunted house shows that the 'for rent' sign there was on the house<sup>64</sup>. Real estate agents seem not to have been uniformly careful to inform their clients of the disadvantages of houses on their lists.

One announcement of gladiatorial games will suffice to represent this class:

<sup>48</sup>Friedländer, l. c.; Schreiber, Atlas, Plate 67.13.

<sup>49</sup>*Pictum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico*: Cicero, De Oratore 2.266; Quintilian 6.3.38; Pliny, N. H. 35.25.

<sup>50</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 476.

<sup>51</sup>Aeneid 1.167; Friedländer, l. 153.

<sup>52</sup>Seneca, Epp. 36.2.

<sup>53</sup>Marquardt, 473.

<sup>54</sup>Cicero, Cat. 1.8.

<sup>55</sup>Overbeck, 467.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid; Bullettino dell' Istituto, 1860, 53.

<sup>57</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 36; Schreiber, Atlas, Plate 87.4; Baumeister, 960.

<sup>58</sup>Schreiber, 87.5.

<sup>59</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 216, 476; see below.

<sup>60</sup>C. I. L. 4. 239, quoted by Abbott, The Classical Journal 3.61.

<sup>61</sup>Persius 1.113.

<sup>62</sup>Abbott, The Classical Journal 3.59. Several other examples are given by Riepl, 341.

<sup>63</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 479.

<sup>64</sup>Epp. 7.27.5 ff.



D. Lucreti Satri Valentis flaminis Neronis Caesaris Aug(usti) fili perpetui gladiatorum paria XX et D. Lucreti Valentis fili glad(iatorum) paria X pug(nabunt) Pompeis VI.V.IV.III. pr(idie) Idus Apr(iles). Venatio legitima et vela erunt. Scr(ipsit) Aemilius Celer sing(ulus) ad luna(m)<sup>65</sup>.

Hunts of wild beasts were frequently given as additions to the regular games (*legitima*, above, seems to promise that this would be the 'real thing' in the line of a hunt), while the awnings which covered the amphitheater, usually open to the sun, were a great attraction to the public. Sometimes prudent exhibitors added the words 'weather permitting' after the dates, while others, like their successors in the circus business, advertised to show 'rain or shine'<sup>66</sup>. The signature of Aemilius Celer is interesting. Would it be possible to believe that because this sign was written by moonlight that he charged higher rates for overtime work, and wanted to establish his claim that this was done after regular working hours? More probably it was intended to be facetious and so good advertising for the painter. Celer's tendency to jest may account for a remark added to an election poster which he signed, and to which he added: *Invidiose qui deles ael[ig]rotes* (C. I. L. 4.5775).

On a shop near the forum a notice was posted that a brass jar had been lost from that shop and that whoever returned it would receive sixty-five sesterces. A further statement about catching the thief is not perfectly legible<sup>67</sup>. Two freedmen living on a farm near the city painted a notice on a tomb that they had tied up a mare with a saddle. The owner might have her . . . the rest is illegible<sup>68</sup>. A tomb might seem an unpromising place for a billboard, but we should remember that the favorite places for tombs were along the great highways, where the passerby might see and read the testimonial to the virtues of the deceased and pay the tribute of respect and honor.

The most numerous class of posters is the election notices, of which about 1500 have been found<sup>69</sup>. In recent years we have seen street car and billboard advertising for candidates, and can better appreciate the situation in Pompeii. The posters afforded a most convenient means of nominating a candidate or promoting his campaign. One of the simplest forms is *Vatiam aed(ilem) Verus Innocens facit*<sup>70</sup>. Sometimes the statement is added that the nominee is a good man, or is worthy of the state<sup>71</sup>. A certain Polybius is recommended 'because he provides fine bread'<sup>72</sup>; Balbus, 'because he guards the treasury'<sup>73</sup>. Sometimes a prominent citizen is asked to support a candidate:

*Cuspi fac Fadium aed(ilem); Sabinum aed(ilem) Procule fac et ille te faciet*<sup>74</sup>. The same Sabinus was favored by Suedius Clemens the federal judge, and doubtless won many votes from this quasi-official support<sup>75</sup>. Groups as well as individuals supported candidates: Vatia was nominated by his neighbors<sup>76</sup>. Statia and Petronia favored Casellius and Albucius—one of the few instances where women took an active part in a campaign (see below)<sup>77</sup>. We find posters issued by or for a merchant with his creditors, a master workman with his apprentices, a teacher with his pupils, the worshippers of Isis and of Venus, the woodsellers, saltworkers, muledrivers, porters, dyers, farmers, fullers, drygoods merchants, druggists, fruitdealers, bakers, innkeepers, barbers, goldsmiths, ball players, garlic sellers, cloakcutters and fishermen<sup>78</sup>. Probably not all these were organized, and we may suspect that the unanimity of their support was sometimes exaggerated: it would be hard to believe that the farmers, for instance, organized for political purposes. Some curious organizations were found: Vatia was nominated in various inscriptions by 'all the late-drinkers'; 'all the sleepyheads'; 'all the sneakthieves'<sup>79</sup>. These may be humorous names for clubs, parodies of serious unions, or pure inventions of the opposition. Polybius was favored by a woman named Zmyrina, but he did not think her support was of much value to him, so he tried to cover her name up with whitewash, but without complete success<sup>80</sup>. Finally, we have a man nominated by his 'dear little sweetheart'<sup>81</sup>.

For these posters the principle of location was different from the one followed in the other advertisements. Each householder had his recommendation painted on the wall of his own house. Of course the public places were used too: of those found in recent years, a considerable number have been in the immediate neighborhood of a *thermopolium*<sup>82</sup>.

Another form of poster was that put up in front of book stores to advertise new literary works<sup>83</sup>. The exact contents of these notices can not be determined: they may have included quotations from the works advertised. Putnam compares the rhymed advertisement (identical with the title page) of the first edition of Lowell's *Fable for Critics*<sup>84</sup>. One might almost imagine that such a poem as Martial 1.3 was written originally for the *pila* of some book seller. It would then be a close parallel to Lowell's page.

In conclusion, let us see if we can explain the relatively small development of advertising among the Romans. Perhaps it is not really small after all.

<sup>65</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 216.

<sup>66</sup>*Qua dies patietur or sine ulla dilatione*: Boissier, Rome and Pompeii, 427; Overbeck, 473; Riepl, 342.

<sup>67</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 480; Overbeck, 477.

<sup>68</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 428.

<sup>69</sup>Abbott, Municipal Politics in Pompeii, The Classical Journal 3.58 ff. (also in Society and Politics in Ancient Rome, 3 ff.), discusses the matter more fully. He gives references for many of these inscriptions to C. I. L.

<sup>70</sup>Abbott, The Classical Journal 3.60.

<sup>71</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 477.

<sup>72</sup>Abbott, The Classical Journal 3.63.

<sup>73</sup>Ibidem.

<sup>74</sup>Overbeck, 460.

<sup>75</sup>Abbott, The Classical Journal 3.62.

<sup>76</sup>Abbott, The Classical Journal 3.60.

<sup>77</sup>Ibidem; cf. Riepl, 344.

<sup>78</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 376-377, 478-479; Friedländer-Waters, Town Life in Ancient Italy, 9 f.

<sup>79</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 479. Abbott, The Classical Journal 3.64, has a very interesting discussion of the possible corollaries.

<sup>80</sup>Chase, The Classical Journal 8.136.

<sup>81</sup>Mau-Kelsey, 479.

<sup>82</sup>Chase, The Classical Journal 8.135.

<sup>83</sup>Martial 1.117.11-12; Horace, Sermones 1.4.71; Ara Poetica 373; etc.

<sup>84</sup>Authors and Their Public in Ancient Times<sup>8</sup>, 219.

Probably if all of Latin literature were preserved we should find more poets like Martial. A recent writer has argued that Horace's poems in praise of wine—the "Massic-laden ditty"—to use Eugene Field's phrase—were written to increase the sales of wine, in other words, that they were advertising<sup>40</sup>. In a way, both Horace and Vergil were the press agents of the new Empire of Augustus.

There were many things which hindered the growth of commercial advertising. The lack of any efficient means of ordering or shipping goods would be in itself fatal, while the Roman economic system as a whole, based as it was on slavery, offered little inducement to ingenuity, discouraged labor-saving devices, and destroyed all feeling of the dignity of labor.

In general, we may say that there was no need for other advertising media than those they had. It may well be that the sketch I have given of advertising through the *acta* is inadequate, and it almost certainly is of the billboard method. But the Roman did not need as many kinds of advertising as we do. He lived an idle outdoor life. From early morning to dark he was loafing around the barber shops, basking in the sun in a portico or basilica or strolling in the shade they afforded, chatting with his friends in the great baths that served as club, library and gymnasium in one. The social instincts of the Roman were highly developed. He sought company. He had ample chance and ample leisure to read placards, as we see him doing in the Pompeian wall painting. He talked of many things of which we moderns read or write. To him, a newspaper was unnecessary. No one who does not know how much time the Italian can and does spend in the cafe can quite realize how the average Roman spent his time. Then, too, there was less to advertise—fewer changes in fashion to need publicity, fewer inventions to need exploiting. We may surely say that had the need for more advertising been felt, the practical Roman—the Yankee of antiquity—would have met it.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

EVAN T. SAGE.

#### PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF LIBERAL STUDIES

The third annual meeting of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies was held at the Adelphia Hotel on Saturday, March 25. About 125 persons were present. The President, Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania, in his report of the year's activities, spoke of the series of numbered Bulletins which is being issued by the Society. Through these the Society brings to those who cannot attend its meetings brief extracts from the addresses which have been delivered and information concerning its various lines of work. The Society wishes to be of service to all teachers and friends of the liberal studies and will send to those interested its own publications or will undertake to procure for them the publications of other organizations favorable to liberal studies.

Professor Albert E. McKinley, of the University of Pennsylvania, delivered an address on The Influence of the War upon Education in Europe. The war has dis-

organized educational systems; pupils have been drafted for service even from Grammar schools; professors have been taken from their class-rooms to engage in administrative service; funds hitherto devoted to education have been diverted to the war treasures. Archaeological excavations have almost stopped; only a tiny group of students is in attendance at the classical schools; scholarly journals are greatly reduced in numbers and in size or have ceased altogether. All these conditions, Professor McKinley said, seemed to indicate that after the war there would be a demand for the practical rather than for the cultural in education. Hence America alone may have the opportunity of culture and the liberal studies. Dr. Richard Cadbury, of Swarthmore College, spoke of The Relation of the Classics to the Bible. He not only emphasized the thought that the study of Latin and Greek is valuable to the student who wishes to read the Bible in its original languages—Latin, because it furnishes the best training in language sense, the prerequisite of all language study; Greek, for the firsthand knowledge that it gives of the New Testament,—but also said that knowledge of the Classics is very important for the study of the Bible through translation, because of the foreign point of view which is taught.

At the afternoon session, Professor Kirby Smith, of The Johns Hopkins University, gave a witty and delightful exposition of The Case of Magic Versus Beauty in the Classical Court of Love, and traced the treatment of this subject by classical writers from Euripides to Ovid. With the exception of Tibullus (who died young and never married and therefore found beauty woman's most potent charm), these writers agree that the most compelling love-charm is of the mind rather than of the person, being variously interpreted as nobility of character, sweet temper, adaptability. Professor George Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, closed the program with an address on The Classics as Preparation for Oriental Studies. Knowledge of Greek and Latin, he said, was an indispensable preparation for the study of Hebrew, Persian, and Sanskrit, and he cited numerous classical writers with whom the Oriental student must be familiar whether it be his purpose to work with the languages of Assyria and Babylonia, or to become an Egyptologist or an Arabist.

The following officers were elected: President, Katharine E. Puncheon, Principal Philadelphia High School for Girls; First Vice-President, Benjamin W. Mitchell, Central High School; Second Vice-President, Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania; Secretary, Jessie E. Allen, Philadelphia High School for Girls; Treasurer, Franklin A. Dakin, The Haverford School; Executive Committee: Samuel E. Berger, Germantown High School; Clara Comegys; William H. Klapp, Episcopal Academy; John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania; Nicholas P. Vlachos, Temple University.

JESSIE E. ALLEN, Secretary.

#### THE NEW YORK LATIN CLUB

On April 8, Mr. George A. Plimpton entertained the members of The New York Latin Club at his residence. Mr. Plimpton spoke on Education in the Time of Shakespeare, exhibiting in illustration some of his valuable horn-books, his rare editions of Cato's Maxims, Coderius's Colloquies, Lilye's Latin Grammar, etc.

It is interesting to note that the boy of Shakespeare's day was thoroughly taught the conversational and epistolary use of Latin, that he read with comparative ease Ovid, Cicero, and Vergil, and that Caesar was saved till the youth had gained experience, and then was read only for the history. JANE GRAY CARTER,

Censor.

<sup>40</sup>Ferrero, Wine in Roman History. in Characters and Events of Roman History. 194 ff.

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